

## Message Text

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ACTION AF-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 SS-15 SP-02 INR-07 NSC-05  
CIAE-00 /052 W

-----113009 282110Z /72

R 281050Z JUL 77  
FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 5743  
INFO AMEMBASSY GABORONE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON  
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L DAR ES SALAAM 3041

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PDEV, RH, TZ  
SUBJECT: TANZANIA AND PATRIOTIC FRONT UNITY

REF: (A) DAR ES SALAAM 2879, (B) DAR ES SALAAM 2957

SUMMARY. PRESIDENT NYERERE HAS PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY IN RECENT EFFORTS TO PROMOTE PATRIOTIC FRONT MILITARY COOPERATION BECAUSE OF HIS STRONG BELIEF THAT NO SATISFACTORY SOLUTION FOR RHODESIA CAN BE ACHIEVED WHILE LIBERATION FORCES ARE COMPETING AGAINST EACH OTHER. PRESSURE BY NYERERE AND OTHERFRONT LINE PRESIDENTS HAS NOT PERSUADED PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS TO TAKE A SERIOUS INTEREST IN COMBINING FORCES AND IT SEEMS UNLIKELY THAT ADDITIONAL PERSUASION WILL BE SUCCESSFUL. END SUMMARY.

1. NYERERE HAS A STRONG INTEREST IN PROMOTING FRONT COOPERATION. DAR ES SALAAM HAS BEEN OFFERED AS A SORT OF FRONT "CAPITAL," WHERE FRONT HEADQUARTERS WOULD BE ESTABLISHED. GOVERNMENT-CONTROLLED MEDIA HAVE BEEN GENEROUS IN THE EXTREME IN LAUDING THE SLIGHTEST INDICATION OF FRONT UNITY. NYERERE HAS PARTICIPATED ACTIVELY IN THE MOST RECENT EFFORTS TO OBTAIN MILITARY  
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COOPERATION BETWEEN ZAPU AND ZANU WHITIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. HE COUNSELLED FRONT CO-LEADERS NKOMO AND MUGABE BEFORE THEIR DAR ES SALAAM TALKS JULY 15-17 AND DEALT ACTIVELY WITH ISSUE AT LUSAKA FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS MEETING JULY 25. GOVERNMENT-

OWNED DAILY NEWS OF JULY 27 REPORTED NYERERE'S LUSAKA PRESS CONFERENCE AFTER FRONT LINE SESSION. NYERERE WAS REPORTED TO

HAVE SAID THAT NO COUNTRY COULD PROSPER WITH A MULTI-ARMY SYSTEM AND THAT THERE MUST BE ONLY ONE ARMY TO CARRY OUT THE LIBERATION STRUGGLE. HE APPARENTLY WENT SO FAR AS TO SAY THAT "CONSIDERABLE PROGRESS" HAD BEEN MADE TOWARD ACHIEVING TOTAL AND GENUINE UNITY IN LEADERSHIP OF THE PATRIOTIC FRONT AND ITS FIGHTING FORCES.

2. INDICATIONS HERE ARE THAT PATRIOTIC FRONT UNITY IS NO CLOSER TO REALITY THAN BEFORE. ZAPU'S EAST AFRICAN REPRESENTATIVE, WHO ATTENDED JULY 15-17 DAR ES SALAAM TALKS, HAS TOLD US NOTHING OF SUBSTANCE WAS ACHIEVED. HE POINTED TO MORE THAN 10 YEARS OF ZANU-ZAPU RIVALRY AND ONLY A SHORT PERIOD OF INCORPORATION WITHIN THE PATRIOTIC FRONT. HE SAID THE DAR ES SALAAM TALKS DID NOT ADDRESS THE QUESTION OF JOINT ZANU-ZAPU TRAINING OR OPERATIONS WITHIN ZIPA. THIS WAS AN UNREALISTIC OBJECTIVE. PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERSHIP EXPECTED TO CONTINUE FIGHTING THE SMITH REGIME WITH SEPARATE ZANU AND ZAPU MILITARY WINGS. HE SAID THE DAR ES SALAAM TALKS WERE INTENDED TO MINIMIZE PROBLEMS BETWEEN ZANU AND ZAPU AFTER SMITH WAS DEFEATED. HE DID NOT ELABORATE ON THE PROPOSED SPECIFICS OF POST-INDEPENDENCE BUT INDICATED ALMOST NOTHING HAS BEEN AGREED UPON. HE SAID THE PRESSURE FROM THE FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS TO COOPERATE WAS INTENSE AND NKOMO (AND MUGABE) WAS BECOMING RESENTFUL.

3. DAR ES SALAAM TALKS JULY 15-17 PRODUCED NO PROGRESS ON ESTABLISHMENT OF PATRIOTIC FRONT HEADQUARTERS IN DAR ES SALAAM.

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4. EMBASSY HAS REPORT THAT ON OR ABOUT JULY 17 MUGABE AND NKOMO WERE TAKEN TO ZIPA TRAINING CAMP AT NACHINGWEA IN SOUTHEASTERN TANZANIA TO MEET TRAINEES IN WHOM TANGOV HAS TRIED TO BUILD ZIMBABWEAN NATIONALIST SPIRIT TRANSCENDING ZANU-ZAPU RIVALRY. TRAINEES, WHO ARE DESTINED TO JOIN ZANU FORCES OPERATING FROM MOZAMBIQUE, HEARD SPEECHES BY MUGABE AND NKOMO. TRAINEES REPORTEDLY REACTED NEGATIVELY TO HIGHLY PARTISAN ZANU SPEECH DELIVERED BY MUGABE BUT NKOMO, WHO FOLLOWED WITH NON-PARTISAN SPEECH URGING LIBERATION OF ZIMBABWE, WAS SAID TO HAVE BEEN ENTHUSIASTICALLY RECEIVED. TANGOV OFFICIALS ARE UNDERSTOOD TO HAVE BEEN QUITE UPSET WITH MUGABE.

5. COMMENT: THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IS IN GOOD PART A CREATION OF THE FRONT LINE STATES AND WE DO NOT SEE NYERERE, OR PROBABLY THE OTHER FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS, REPUDIATING IT. FRONT LEADERS MUGABE AND NKOMO, HOWEVER, ARE EITHER UNABLE OR UNWILLING TO COME TO TERMS AS NYERERE AND THE OTHERS WANT. PATRIOTIC FRONT LEADERS IN FACT SEEM TO BE AVOIDING MOST THE VERY BASIS -- MILITARY COOPERATION TO INTENSIFY THE STRUGGLE -- ON WHICH THEIR FRONT LINE (AND OAU) RECOGNITION HAS BEEN GRANTED. NYERERE AND THE OTHER FRONT LINE PRESIDENTS CAN CONTINUE TO TRY PERSUASION, PERHAPS REFERRING TO "PROGRESS" IN PATRIOTIC FRONT

COOPERATION AS NYERERE REPORTEDLY DID AT LUSAKA. THE LIMITS  
OF PERSUASION, HOWEVER, SEEM TO HAVE BEEN REACHED.  
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## Message Attributes

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